FINDING JOBS FOR NEGROES:
A Kit of Ideas for Management

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PREFACE

This monograph is one of a series published by the Manpower Administration of the U.S. Department of Labor on research conducted under title I of the Manpower Development and Training Act of 1962 and funded by the Department of Labor.

It is based on a contract research study, "The Negro and Equal Employment Opportunities: A Review of Management Experiences in Twenty Companies," by Prof. Louis A. Ferman of the Institute of Labor and Industrial Relations, The University of Michigan—Wayne State University. Copies of the Ferman report may be purchased from the Clearinghouse for Federal Scientific and Technical Information, Springfield, Va. 22151 (accession No. PB 176721; $3 for paper copy, 65 cents for microfiche).

The purpose of this monograph is to make the findings of the study available in condensed form to a wide audience. The information here constitutes a kit of ideas that can help an employer solve problems that he may face in efforts to employ workers from minority groups. It may not cover some problems that he can encounter in complying with title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 or with Executive Order 11246. It does cover the major obstacles to equal employment opportunity that may confront him in his plant and in his community.

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INTRODUCTION

Most employers in the United States now have a legal duty to hire, fire, and promote workers without regard to color, creed, sex, or age. At the same time, manpower shortages in an era of prolonged economic growth and expanded military requirements have prompted business efforts to recruit minority workers. So, apparently, has society's growing awareness of a moral responsibility to stamp out discrimination wherever it exists.

But the businessman's good intentions and his sense of duty are not enough for effective action to equalize employment opportunities. This is especially true if he is just hiring his first Negro worker or if he is beginning to open up better jobs for his Negro employees. He may want to know what to do and how to do it.

Those employers who are subject to laws or regulations requiring nondiscriminatory employment practices (title VII of the Civil Rights Act or nondiscrimination clauses in Federal contracts, for example) can find help in the guidelines and standards issued by the administering agency. However, such statements must be broadly applicable and usually emphasize the objectives of affirmative action for equal employment opportunity rather than specific steps to attain them. The employer must make his own plan for action to achieve the legally required objectives. For this purpose, the experience of other employers may be useful.

This monograph tells about the problems—real and imagined—faced by 20 companies when they voluntarily embarked upon programs for equal employment opportunity and how they attempted to solve them. Their programs were in operation in August 1964, when the study on which the monograph is based was initiated.

The 20 companies covered a wide range of industry: Heavy and light manufacturing, public utilities, service, retail and wholesale trade, transportation, and distribution. The smallest company was a tool and die shop with fewer than 50 workers. At the other extreme, two manufacturing plants had more than 5,000 workers each. Several operated a single plant, but most did business at a number of locations, and a few had units throughout the United States. The work force ranged from overwhelmingly female to overwhelmingly male, from predominantly semi-skilled to predominantly technical and professional.

Interviews were conducted with 67 management executives: 27 corporate headquarters officials and 40 management officials in local plants. Interviews were also conducted with union officials in companies that were organized and with two groups of workers—205 white workers, including supervisors, and 215 Negro workers.

In general, managers reported some progress toward establishing and maintaining equal employment opportunities. Those who had the most experience with Negro employees reported that they found them to be average workers, neither significantly better nor significantly worse than comparable groups of white workers. To reach the point at which they could make such a statement had required a considerable amount of managerial and administrative skill and determination. This monograph tells what actually happened along the way, and how it was brought about. (The illustrative quotations given in boxes are taken from Professor Ferman's report.)

POLICY: COMMITMENT, COMMUNICATION, AND CONTROL

Nothing gets done without top management backing, without passing the word, and without a followup organization. The managers of the 20 companies studied intensively by Professor Ferman reported that they had to relearn the truth of that obvious statement in regard to a program for equal employment opportunity. In the language of the management experts: Top management must commit the company's resources to the program, a policy must be established and communicated to the right people, and followups must be made.

Developing a Good Policy

The experience of the 20 companies suggests that an equal employment policy is good if it:

1. Has been developed with the full backing of top company officials, including the chief officer, and all key executives have been involved in formulating the basic policy and in establishing its operating procedures.

2. Is formulated in such a manner that it is recognized as a major policy commitment.

3. Contains a clear statement of objectives that are within the company's reach. (Some companies will be employing their first Negro workers; others may have had Negro employees for a number of years. The policy should reflect an accurate appraisal of the company's present circumstances and its potential for expanding employment opportunities for minority groups.)

4. Applies clearly to all phases of employment —hiring, placement, supervision, training, upgrading, and promotion.

Communicating the Policy

True communication of a policy of equal employment opportunity—in contrast to just announcing it—is accomplished by actions, the companies reported. Negro and white workers and other residents of the community were often skeptical that the policy was a firm commitment; more than a paper communication was required to convince them.

Publicity about the equal employment policy is important, too, but managers advocated that it be carefully planned and controlled. Publicity not directed to those persons and agencies that affect the policy's operation or control the flow of manpower to the company, the managers found, was sometimes interpreted as an insincere public relations gesture and brought in applications from many persons who could not be hired. Public media should be used only to report significant accomplishments.

Within the company. Management's first rule was that everyone in the company should be informed of the policy in a way that carries the stamp of top management approval. Advance information should be provided to supervisory personnel so they can act with confidence and authority.

A point not often made, but significant in some localities, was the need to communicate the company's nondiscrimination policy to job applicants when they appear at the employment office. The company's stance should be stated personally to job applicants, to make sure it is understood.

Many employers recommended that grievance procedures be included in the policy announcement. This practice can emphasize management's

commitment to action and keep any incidents of interracial friction from spreading beyond the company gates.

With the union. Most of the company executives who had worked on the formulation and communication of a policy of equal employment opportunity said that any announcement to a union should be a simple, forthright statement of objectives. Some executives said that even this was unnecessary; they believed such a policy was solely a managerial responsibility. Where the program required modifications in the union-management agreement, notifying the unions was, of course, a necessary prelude to negotiations.

With employment agencies and other sources of manpower. The companies found it necessary to inform their regular sources of recruitment (public and private employment agencies, vocational training schools, community high schools, and colleges and universities) of the policy. Most also established early contact with new sources of recruitment: Predominantly Negro high schools and colleges, Negro civic agencies, and other sources of Negro manpower.

Eleven techniques for communicating the equal employment opportunity policy that proved themselves were:

1. Orientation sessions with managerial and supervisory personnel to convey the message that top management considers the provision of equal employment opportunity a major goal, and to provide an opportunity for lower echelon managers and supervisors to ask questions.

2. A statement to each work group by its immediate supervisor, who could best anticipate and deal with workers' reactions.

3. A letter signed by the president or a vice president and sent to every employee.

4. A letter to managerial and supervisory personnel.

5. Posting of the policy on bulletin boards.

6. Inclusion of the policy statement in employee handbooks.

7. Memorandums about the policy, following the usual channels of transmittal.

8. Statement and discussion of the equal employment policy in supervisors' handbooks.

9. Articles regarding the policy (and achievements) in company publications.

10. Special publications explaining the policy and the program's objectives.

11. Letters and individual visits by company representatives to outside agencies and groups to explain the company's policy and objectives.

Whatever methods were chosen, experience indicated that the communication should forthrightly support equal employment opportunity, but at the same time emphasize that the company is not relaxing its standards of job qualifications and job performance.

Administering the Policy

Employers in the study suggested that programs of equal employment opportunity are most effective when they do not depart radically from established administrative procedures. The development of equal employment opportunities cannot be divorced from the structure of the organization, especially its overall management of administrative matters.

This does not mean that changes in organizational structure, functional assignments, recordkeeping, and control procedures may not be necessary to overcome inertia within the present system. Innovations differed among the 20 companies, depending upon the company's managerial style, its administrative capabilities, and the strength of its policy commitment. The experience of these companies makes it clear that action to carry out the program did not "just happen." Key administrative steps were:

Assigning Responsibility. Only two of the 20 companies in the study had formed new units to carry the major responsibility for the equal employment opportunity program. Both were large companies with highly formal and complex administrative structures, which had previously set up new units to introduce other programs that represented major policy commitments. In neither did the new unit have exclusive administrative responsibility for the new policy; rather it was set up to coordinate and oversee the program, review performance, and feed back information to other operating units.

Some of the managers argued that a new unit would be costly and time consuming and would overemphasize the need for innovation. They conceded that crash efforts might be needed at the outset, but saw the ultimate goal as incorporating equal employment objectives into the standard employment procedures.

In the majority of the companies studied, the responsibility for coordination and storage of information was lodged in one place, but the operating assignments were spread throughout the company. The central unit—typically a personnel, industrial relations, or employee relations department that reported at the vice-presidential level—also dealt with grievance and discipline problems that could not be easily handled at their points of origin. (This type of administrative organization is flexible and leaves the way open for drawing on other departments of a company as needed while not committing many resources.)

Smaller companies had advantages in their more consolidated administrative offices and shorter lines of communication. But this sometimes led to the mistaken assumption that responsibilities were understood when they were not.

Some managers believed that existing arrangements were adequate and that a simple statement of policy would stimulate action. But this strategy proved to be ineffective. Nothing was accomplished without the investment of time, staff, and resources.

Establishing a System for Control and Audit. None of the companies had audited equal employment practices until a State or Federal agency intervened or they voluntarily joined Plans for Progress. But at the time of the study, every company used some system of reporting employment statistics as a measure of progress. In large corporations, the system was quite formal and required regular written reports. In smaller firms, precedures were less formal, sometimes just personal observations by certain officials. But whether the systems were formal or informal, all the companies with effective programs had identifiable control and auditing procedures.

> In [one] company, a tradition of bureaucratic responsibility, close supervision of subordinate activities, and an investment of resources in monitoring and collating relevant information undoubtedly yielded results. In [another], these activities were minimal, but a forceful personality—the president of the company—and a close, tight, but informal pattern of supervision contributed significantly to the development of a successful program.

Effective use of the auditing forms to correct discriminatory practices depended upon the emphasis on auditing and who reviewed the forms. More progress in initiating equal employment activities was apparent in plants with highly formal systems in which the company president or his immediate staff reviewed the forms. The minimum standards for an effective auditing system appeared to be: (1) Feedback of information to reporting units on their progress or lack of progress in promotions and upgrading, as well as initial hiring; (2) an analysis and discussion of what had produced results and what had not; and (3) suggestions for corrective action—for example, a step-up in recruitment.

THE OBSTACLES TO EFFECTIVE ACTION
AND WAYS OF OVERCOMING THEM

The Obstacles

Among the obstacles to equal opportunity in employment for Negroes most often reported by the 20 companies were attitudes—the attitudes of company managers and supervisors, of Negro workers, of other workers, and of Negroes outside the company. Naturally, all of the companies did not encounter all of the obstacles, but similar experiences have been reported so frequently that broad generalization is permissible.

Sterotypes of Negro Abilities or Job Capabilities. Stereotypes of Negroes range from a general hostility toward the Negro worker ("He is lazy, shiftless, and ignorant") to specific notions such as: "Negro workers cannot stand heights," and "Negro workers can stand heat better than white workers." These stereotypes are most common among those who have had little real contact with Negroes and, in the absence of such contact, become self-perpetuating.

Born of these attitudes are the traditions of "white jobs" and "Negro jobs." In many companies, the Negro has automatically been assigned to certain job categories, and in some, entire departments have become predominantly Negro. This pattern has sometimes been reinforced by segregated local unions.

Stereotypes of Customer or Coworker Reactions. Another restriction on Negro job assignment, especially to sales or white-collar jobs, is management's anticipation that customers or white coworkers will object. Managers also consistently exaggerate the probable reactions of white workers and customers to the idea of Negroes in supervisory positions.

Reluctance of Negroes to Bid for New Jobs or Training. The Negro worker may be reluctant to apply for better jobs or training opportunities, even when they are posted, because he prefers not to "rock the boat." He may anticipate that he will be rebuffed and may even impair his position in the company. He may also believe that, if successful, he will face hostile coworkers and supervisors who will not support him in his new position.

Departmental or Supervisory "Flexibility" in Job Assignments and Placements. In the initial selection and recommended placement of personnel, the personnel office may avoid biases. However, the line supervisor usually can either choose from a preferred list of candidates or veto a particular candidate. In a department where strong cohesion or a marked similarity in backgrounds among the workers exists, the supervisor may hesitate to introduce a Negro.

Informal Pressures and Hostilities. Coworkers can help or hinder a Negro worker. Opportunities for promotion depend to some extent on informal on-the-job learning. The worker—white or Negro—who is shown the intricacies of technological processes or machine operation by his coworkers has a better chance for promotion. Also, bidding

for jobs and training opportunities may well depend on inside information about openings or the requirements of a job. This information is usually made available only to workers who belong to "the gang."

Recruiting Rigidities. Traditional recruitment practices may yield few Negro applicants. This is especially probable if a company has depended on such employment aids as a private employment agency, advertisements in white newspapers, or referrals by its own employees for its new recruits.

If Negroes have a poor image of a company because of its past racial employment practices, they may be suspicious of its recruiting drives. Also a company may be ineffective in recruiting Negroes because of a lack of experience with certain Negro aspirations and life styles. Negro workers may be interested in things that do not concern white workers—for instance, the supervisor-Negro relations in a company or the handling of Negro grievances. Finally, Negro schools often leave Negro job applicants lagging behind in verbal, mathematical, and social skills. Recruitment of these applicants, even for the break-in jobs, may involve compensatory education or training to raise their employment potential.

Selection Methods. Even in companies that are actively recruiting Negro workers, the Negro applicant usually is not hired unless he passes muster in a personal interview and an employment test. The Negro may feel ill at ease in the unfamiliar interview situation and may see testing as a device to reinforce a decision not to hire him. Therefore, he may feel anxiety, if not outright hostility—and with good reason in many instances. The personnel interviewer may reject the Negro whose speech mannerisms, style of dress, and thinking patterns differ from those he has found in white applicants. On the usual intelligence or aptitude test, a passing score may be geared to the background and performance of white, middle-class employees, who possess knowledge gained through experiences many Negroes have never had. Or the company may use tests to measure not the applicant's ability to do the job for which he is being considered, but his potential for training or for later promotions. Few companies have assessed the accuracy of the tests as a measure of potential performance on specific jobs. The usual criterion is whether

supervisors are generally satisfied with the workers who pass the tests.

> In one of the plants, fifteen Negro workers were employed in assembly work . . . without the usual battery of tests. After a 6-month period, the workers were given the tests. In spite of the fact that each one had received a satisfactory rating on the job, not one of the fifteen received a passable test score!

Ways of Overcoming the Obstacles

To overcome the obstacles to an effective program of equal employment opportunity, one or another—and sometimes most—of the companies took action that touched all phases of employment within the company. Naturally, major emphasis was placed on recruitment.

Realistic Recruiting. Active recruitment efforts were usually tailored to the size of anticipated Negro employment, the jobs for which Negroes were sought, the number of Negroes already employed, the jobs held by these Negroes, the availability of Negro applicants through traditional sources, and employment conditions in the area. However, they had one thing in common: The companies emphasized the cultivation of new sources of minority group applicants.

Use of the mass media was common. Typical practices were:

- Including the slogan "Equal Opportunity Employer" in employment advertisements and notices.

- Advertising jobs in publications read by minority groups.

- Publicizing recruitment efforts in company publications and in trade and association journals.

But the employers stated that these impersonal techniques, while useful, were only complements to direct and personal contacts with individuals and associations that were actually in touch with minority group members.

> ... The vice-president of a large manufacturing firm reported that Negroes suspect tokenism when the company avoids equal employment opportunity ads in predominantly white newspapers. His own company was cited for tokenism by a Negro action group when product advertisements with Negro models were prominent in Negro publications but did not appear in the large metropolitan newspapers read by whites.

A number of companies attempted to form close personal relationships with key members of the Negro community—ministers, teachers, scout leaders, directors of settlement houses, welfare workers, and recreational workers, for example. Such contacts yielded many applicants who could not be reached through traditional job referral channels, especially for nonprofessional and nontechnical jobs. Company officials in the South more often relied on personal contacts with Negro leaders than on membership in Negro action groups.

Several companies encouraged their executives to serve on commissions, special committees, and boards of agencies that dealt with minority group problems. But such activities generally represented only the first stage of developing contacts with the Negro community.

Some companies sponsored or cosponsored community programs more directly linked to the recruitment of minority group workers. Some of these were long-rang programs—high school "career days"; tours of company facilities; work-experience programs after school hours; and job orientation and placement programs, conducted by such agencies as the Urban League.

> The manager of a large transportation company reported that it was difficult to recruit Negro technicians or secretaries if the job involved leaving the immediate area of residence.

The companies most often used specialized Negro agencies for recruitment—for example, the Urban League's regional skill banks, which serve both Negro job applicants and companies seeking Negro workers. The companies also made intensive use of predominantly Negro high schools and southern Negro colleges as sources of recruitment. Direct applications were less important sources of Negro than of white workers.

The following list shows effective sources of recruitment for white and Negro workers reported by respondents in 20 local plants units:

> ... a large eastern manufacturing company became concerned because few Negro job applicants had been attracted by newspaper ads. The company organized a five-point program ... (1) a speaker's bureau that offered lectures to high schools on opportunities within the company; (2) ... a semiannual career day cosponsored with 15 companies in the area ... and regular job clinics [for] high school youth; (3) visits to the main plant by Negro youth ... (4) an individual counseling program ... in the local Urban League office; and (5) ... a series of meetings with eight to twelve families of Negroes where the company presented profiles of new job opportunities ... the qualifications for these jobs and information on the company's nondiscrimination policy. In one location during the six months following initiation of the program, the company had 630 Negro applicants ... 598 of them became interested through some phase of this program.

White Workers

Direct applications (20)[1]
Referrals from workers or other employers (18)
Visits to high schools or colleges (17)
Referrals from employment agencies— public or private (10)
Newspaper ads (2)

Negro Workers

Urban League, NAACP, or other Negro agency (18)
Referrals from Negro employees (16)
Negro colleges (12)
Negro newspaper and magazine ads (10)
Visits to Negro high schools (10)
Direct applications (8)
State Employment Service (7)
Referrals from Negro churches or settlement houses (4)

[1] Figures in parentheses refer to the number of officials who designated the item a major source of recruitment. Most of the men reported several major sources.

> . . . a leading electronics company, faced with a critical shortage of technicians, initiated a four-point program in 15 southern Negro colleges: (1) several training administrators spent some time in the colleges reorganizing the curricula in mathematics, physics and engineering . . . to meet the job requirements of large companies; (2) . . . lent its specialists to a number of colleges to enrich the instructional staff and provide counseling; (3) provided summer work programs to upgrade the faculty members; and (4) initiated a work experience program for qualified students during the summer period. . . . After the first year's operation, 50 Negroes from these colleges accepted employment with the company in scarce technical categories.

The more successful recruiting techniques involved a combination of agency and company efforts rather than the company's going it alone and provided for the quick routing of the applicant into normal employment channels. Long delays may discourage applicants and cause them to drop out during the processing.

In addition, unconscious as well as conscious discrimination patterns in recruitment need to be identified and eliminated. The unconscious ones are often defended on the basis of "organizational efficiency." The location of such barriers and action to eliminate them may be as efficacious in the long run as any other actions.

> . . . in a southern city the state employment office servicing a transportation manufacturing company had not referred registered Negro job applicants for production jobs because of the expectation that only whites were wanted.

Hiring Standards. Many of the companies involved in the Ferman study reported that a reexamination of interviewing and testing practices, and particularly their role in placement and promotion opportunities, was necessary to open employment doors to many Negroes hitherto barred. As a rule, managers felt that test scores should not be the sole basis for hiring. In the hiring of clerical and technical workers, a number of companies gave preferential treatment to Negro job applicants whose test scores were comparable to those of white applicants. Reexamination of interviewing practices led, in different companies, to:

- Educational programs for plant managers, interviews, and vocational counselors on the issue of minority group discrimination.

- The development of an audit system that, for example, required interviews to report in writing on their contacts with Negro applicants, indicating the Negro's qualifications, the jobs for which he was considered, and, if he was rejected, the reasons for rejection.

- The use of techniques such as asking the Negro applicant to come back several times to give the interviewer a better picture of his abilities and interviewing by a Negro-white team.

> . . . there was considerable disagreement whether Negroes should be used to interview Negroes . . . The argument in favor stresses that Negro applicants feel more comfortable with a Negro. . . . The argument against is that it bears the stamp of tokenism . . . or indicates that the company treats Negroes differently.

Some of the companies made an inventory of job openings and then analyzed the hiring standards for those jobs in the light of the capabilities of the minority group member. Special efforts were sometimes needed to fit Negro workers, particularly the unskilled, into the work force. Some Negro applicants were given special job preparation and helped to learn social skills for the job, or to obtain transportation, special tools, or medical treatment. Occasionally, extended followup services—psychological, medical, or vocational—were also provided.

Another approach was creating new jobs in which a Negro worker could perform productively and gain enough skill to qualify for a regular job. This method helped the employer fill his manpower needs while providing the Negro with work experience in a setting where promotion or job enlargement was open to him.

... an electrical equipment firm . . . contacted 2 Negroes who had a background of training in electrical work but did not employ them because they lacked a state license for such work.

* * * * *

... a large electronics company desired to employ 86 technicians . . . few applicants had the qualifications, high school plus 2 years of technical school. The company modified the requirements on a trial basis . . . 23 applicants with 6 months of technical school were accepted . . . and required to attend a company training program that compressed 18 months of technical school training into 7 months. . . . these trainees were compared with workers who had the regular qualifications. . . . performance profiles were almost identical. . . .

... in 11 out of the 20 companies the management had set a goal of increasing Negro employment to a point that the proportion approximated the percentage of Negroes in the local community.

Job Placement. All of the executives in the study agreed that the first Negro employee should not be chosen at random, but there were contradictory opinions about the ideal characteristics of the first one. Most believed that he should have superior qualifications, but several contended that hiring a Negro who was overqualified would create morale problems among white workers and make it difficult for Negroes employed later to match his performance.

Similar differences of opinion existed on where to place the first Negro employee. Some believed he should be in a highly visible job, while others regarded this practice as tokenism. There was general agreement, however, that he should not be placed in a department where there were few chances for promotion, because of the resulting competition among workers. The executives also agreed that the first Negro employee should be assigned to a supervisor with prestige among his subordinates and a successful record of handling interpersonal relations. They also pointed out that a supervisor with high work standards would control behavior by white workers that threatened those standards and would quickly integrate the Negro into a functioning role in the group.

Whether white workers should be given any special preparation prior to the hiring of the first Negro was another point of disagreement among the executives in the study. Twelve of them felt that such a practice could generate sensitivity to the "special event" of Negro employment. Two companies, on the other hand, did have special orientation programs to acquaint white workers with company policy on equal employment opportunity and to ascertain which employees might offer resistance. These sessions were not designed as an attempt to win popular approval for the employment of Negroes; rather, they stressed firmness in application of the policy and the requirement that all workers comply with it.

... in a southern manufacturing plant, when Negro workers were introduced—without any preparation of the white workers—a number of the older workers voiced serious objections. The absentee rate doubled and production dropped. An organized committee of white workers . . . requested the dismissal of the Negro workers. The management finally agreed to their demand but only after a series of concessions to the white workers had failed to reduce the opposition. It was apparent that the lack of firmness on the part of the supervisors in making concessions was a factor increasing the opposition . . . of the whites.

Thirteen of the company executives felt that special placement procedures could be discontinued after the first Negroes entered employment. The other seven disagreed. Although initial procedures were modified as Negro employment increased, special placements of Negroes continued to be made—for example, opening up departments where no Negroes were employed or following the buddy system of placing two or more Negroes in a department.

Promotion and Upgrading. Negroes' opportunities for promotion or upgrading depend primarily upon the supervisor's recommendation. They may, however, also be influenced by low turnover rates, higher educational requirements for jobs above the entry level, traditions or union contractual provisions for separate lines of promotion, dual standards for Negro and white

promotions, and, as mentioned previously, the Negro's own reluctance to bid for better jobs.

Company practices to stimulate Negro promotions included counseling and training, a review of promotion policies, a search for eligible Negro employees, and the development of auditing and educational techniques to reduce the biases of the supervisors.

A particularly effective technique was review of the personnel files of minority group employees to see if any qualified for higher level jobs and an interview with each one about qualifications and interests that might not be recorded in the official file. New data were sent to the employees' supervisors, and a followup was made to see what action had resulted. Counseling was used to increase the flow of information about job and training opportunities, and help overcome Negro employees' reluctance to bid for these opportunities.

Reexamination of the seniority system and lines of job progression sometimes disclosed that Negro workers were "frozen" in certain departments and thereby excluded from promotion or upgrading. Companies in the study had negotiated union contract revisions which called for merging segregated operations, eliminating dual seniority and progression lines, basing eligibility for training and promotions on merit instead of seniority and experience, and modifying the apprenticeship system.

One company was offering tuition-free night classes for workers who lacked a high school diploma, which was required for jobs above the entry level. About one-fifth of a group of Negroes hired for service jobs were attending the classes.

Preferential treatment as a policy to increase Negro promotions was uniformly opposed, as was the lowering of standards for certain jobs.

Opportunities for Training. If employees are to qualify for better jobs, they often need training to supplement and strengthen their skills. Much training in American industry is given informally on the job by the foreman, department head, or fellow employees with long service. Most companies do not provide formal classroom training, although it is becoming more common for them to pay all or part of employees' tuition for attending classes at outside training installations, as in apprenticeship programs. In these respects, the 20 companies in Professor Ferman's study

were typical: Only 1 of every 5 white employees who were interviewed reported any formal company training program (either tuition supported or directly operated), but 3 in 5 said there was informal, on-the-job training without planned instruction.

Executives of the companies were not sure of exact numbers, but they felt that Negroes participated equally with whites in informal, on-the-job training. When their unskilled blue-collar workers were asked about their opportunities for such training, however, a different picture of the situation emerged, as is shown in table 1.

More than any other feature of the work situation, the lack of exposure to informal job learning was described with bitterness and frustration by the unskilled Negro employees, who saw it as a reflection of interpersonal relations at work. The fact that management spokesmen were unaware that Negroes were virtually excluded from informal job learning suggests that such de facto discrimination may be well insulated from earnest attempts to equalize opportunities. It might yield to a plan of job rotation, in Professor Ferman's view.

In formal training programs, the supervisor is usually the gatekeeper to opportunity, since selection for training depends heavily on his recommendation, although seniority may also count. To guard against supervisory bias, four of the companies had set up checking procedures to see if qualified Negroes were being referred for training. In one, the supervisor was required to justify in writing any failure to refer a qualified Negro.

Four companies had also taken special measures to overcome an apparent unwillingness of Negroes to bid for training opportunities. Essentially, these were counseling programs designed to inform Negroes of their eligibility for training, to discuss the opportunities with them, and to encourage them to undertake training.

Several companies had developed formal training programs to compensate for the lack of specialized training among Negro job applicants. These programs also entailed a realistic reappraisal of the qualifications for the job and the provision of job-related employment while the applicants were acquiring their new skills. The experience of these companies indicates that the

TABLE 1. UNSKILLED BLUE-COLLAR WORKERS' REPLIES TO QUESTIONS
ABOUT ON-THE-JOB LEARNING OPPORTUNITIES[1]

Question and answer	Percent of workers giving specified answer	
	Whites	Negroes
On your present job, are you restricted to one kind of work, or do you have opportunities to learn other skills?		
Restricted to one job	63	94
Have opportunities to learn other skills	37	6
Do you often get a chance to work at a job that involves more responsibility than your own?		
Yes	27	7
No	73	93
Do you often get a chance to trade jobs or to fill in on jobs that give you an opportunity to become familiar with work that is different from your own?		
Yes	34	7
No	66	93

[1] Based on responses from 57 white and 170 Negro employees of the 20 companies.

best compensatory training programs are coupled with related work for which the employee is adequately paid and last no longer than necessary to bring the worker to some minimum skill level.

A midwest retail store lacked job applicants possessing the required skills for stenographic work. The company employed 15 girls in clerical jobs closely related to the stenographic work. As a condition of employment, the girls were required to attend two-hour afternoon classes in stenographic skills and one weekly evening session. The training was conducted on the company premises, using company equipment and instructors. All but two of the girls were transferred to stenographic work at the completion of the training period.

Other Areas of Change. In the companies studied, action for equal opportunity sometimes extended to practices less directly related to employment.

An aggressive vice-president of a small electronics company in the midwest organized a concerted effort to provide good housing opportunities for Negro technicians who had recently joined the company. He made personal contact with local real estate agencies, church groups and civic leaders. Six of the ten Negro technicians employed in the company found good housing in the community.

* * * * *

[When] a bowling alley refused to permit integrated company . . . teams, the company moved [the] activity to [an] alley on the outskirts of the city. After a 3-month period, the owner of the first establishment relented and invited the company's integrated teams to use his establishment.

Experiences such as these were unique. There was, however, one area of concerted action: Any segregated facilities and sponsorship of segregated social activities for employees were eliminated—with little fanfare, quickly, and completely.

WHERE TO GET MORE INFORMATION

Additional copies of this publication may be obtained from the U.S. Department of Labor's Manpower Administration in Washington, D.C., or from the Department's Regional Information Offices at the addresses listed below.

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For more information on manpower programs and services in your area, contact your local Employment Service Office or the nearest Office of the Regional Manpower Administrator at the address listed below.

Regional Manpower Administrator	States Served	
John F. Kennedy Bldg. Boston, Mass. 02203 Area Code 617, 223-6726	Connecticut Maine New Hampshire	Rhode Island Massachusetts Vermont
341 Ninth Avenue New York, N. Y. 10001 Area Code 212, 971-7564	New York New Jersey	Puerto Rico Virgin Islands
1111 20th Street, NW. Washington, D.C. 20210 Area Code 202, 386-6016	Delaware District of Columbia Maryland North Carolina	Pennsylvania Virginia West Virginia
1371 Peachtree Street, NE. Atlanta, Ga. 30309 Area Code 404, 526-3267	Alabama Florida Georgia	Mississippi South Carolina Tennessee
219 South Dearborn Street Chicago, Ill. 60604 Area Code 312, 353-4258	Illinois Indiana Kentucky Michigan	Minnesota Ohio Wisconsin
911 Walnut Street Kansas City, Mo. 64106 Area Code 816, 374-3796	Colorado Iowa Kansas Missouri Montana	Nebraska North Dakota South Dakota Utah Wyoming
411 North Akard Street Dallas, Tex. 75201 Area Code 214, 749-3671	Arkansas Louisiana New Mexico	Oklahoma Texas
450 Golden Gate Avenue San Francisco, Calif. 94102 Area Code 415, 556-7414	Alaska Arizona California Hawaii	Idaho Nevada Oregon Washington